

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 IO-13 ISO-00 DHA-02 ERDA-05 CIAE-00 H-01

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PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 TRSE-00 DODE-00 NSC-05

ACDA-07 CU-02 EB-07 STR-04 /101 W

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R 061400Z MAY 77

FM AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 8457

INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

AMEMBASSY BERLIN

AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY PRAGUE

AMEMBASSY SOFIA

AMEMBASSY WARSAW

AMCONSUL MUNICH

USNATO BURSELS 0904

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LIMITED OFFICIAL USE SECTION 1 OF 2 BUDAPEST 1499

E.O. 11652: NA

TAGS: PFOR, HU, CSCE, XG

SUBJECT: DEPUTY FOREIGN MINISTER'S ARTICLE ON PREPARATIONS FOR
BELGRADE CONFERENCE

1. SUMMARY: ARTICLE BY DEPUTY FOREIGN MINISTER JANOS
NAGY ENTITLED "ACCOUNTING FOR HELSINKI - PREPARATION
FOR BELGRADE" APPEARED IN APRIL ISSUE OF TARSADALMI
SZEMLE, PARTY'S IDEOLOGICAL JOURNAL. ARTICLE REFLECTS
APPARENTLY GENUINE GOH CONCERN THAT HUMAN RIGHTS ISSUES
MAY UNDERMINE CONSTRUCTIVE WORK OF CONFERENCE, WHILE AT
SAME TIME, FORESHADOWING THE LINE THAT HUNGARY WILL TAKE
AT BELGRADE CSCE CONFERENCE. NAGY CAREFULLY LAYS GROUND-
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WORK FOR BLAMING WEST IF EAST-WEST COOPERATION SHOULD
CEASE. THROUGHOUT, HE IS CRITICAL OF WEST, REPEATEDLY
ACCUSING IT OF INTERVENING IN INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF
"SOCIALIST COUNTRIES." HE MAKES POINT THAT, IF ATTACKED
AT BELGRADE, WARSAW PACT HAS AMPLE AMMUNITION FOR
COUNTERATTACK. ON OTHER HAND, A CONSTRUCTIVE RESULT
CAN COME ABOUT, NAGY DECLARES, IF EACH COUNTRY ADOPTS

JUST A FEW NEW IDEAS OR CONCEPTS FROM THE OTHERS.
NAGY MAKES TWO POINTS HE HAS MADE WITH WESTERN REPRESENTATIVES IN PRIVATE: GOH DOES NOT WANT TO SEE EXTENSION OF CBM'S AT BELGRADE AND BELGRADE MEETING SHOULD NOT BE A FORUM FOR DISARMAMENT PROPOSALS. BOTH APPEAR TO BE DIRECTED TOWARDS PROPOSALS MADE OR ABOUT TO BE MADE BY, INTER ALIA, YUGOSLAVIA AND MALTA TO CITE TWO EXAMPLES.
END OF SUMMARY.

2. NAGY NOTES THAT COLLECTIVE ASSESSMENT OF PROGRESS SINCE HELSINKI IS IMPORTANT TO FUTURE PROGRESS. PEACEFUL CO-EXISTENCE IS DEPENDENT, HOWEVER, ON US-SOVIET RELATIONS. NAGY WARNS AGAINST ADVERSARIES OF DETENTE IN WEST WHO, IN SOME CASES, HE SAYS, GO BEYOND MANIFESTATION OF SYMPATHY AND IDEOLOGICAL CAMPAIGNING TO POLITICAL INTERFERENCE IN INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF SOCIALIST COUNTRIES. FINAL DOCUMENT, HE DECLARES, DOES NOT GIVE RIGHT TO INTERFERE IN INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF A STATE. LOOKING FOR INTERNAL OPPOSITION IN SOCIALIST COUNTRIES IS WISHFUL THINKING, NAGY MAINTAINS.

3. NAGY POINTS OUT COMBINED EFFORTS OF SOCIALIST AND CAPITALIST COUNTRIES ARE NECESSARY FOR IMPLEMENTATION OF FINAL DOCUMENT. NEUTRAL COUNTRIES, HOWEVER, MUST NOT BE IMPATIENT AT PACE OF PROGRESS WITH REGARD TO SECURITY AND CONFIDENCE ISSUES SINCE THESE ISSUES CANNOT BE DIVORCED FROM "REALITIES." ELEMENTS OF SELF-CRITICISM HAVE APPEARED IN POSITIONS OF NATO GOVERNMENTS BUT NAGY STILL DISLIKES BOURGEOIS ATTITUDE THAT CAPITALIST SOCIAL LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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SYSTEM AND BOURGEOIS DEMOCRACY ARE SAID "TO BE A MODEL WHICH GUARANTEES AS A MATTER OF COURSE THE ASSERTION OF WHAT FINAL DOCUMENT CONTAINS." ON CONTRARY, NAGY MAINTAINS, WEST IGNORES FUNDAMENTAL "RIGHT TO WORK." IT IS OBVIOUS, HE SAYS, THAT (HUMAN RIGHTS) CAMPAIGN IS NOT FOR PROTECTION OF RIGHTS BUT TO POISON ATMOSPHERE IN EUROPE, UNDERMINE DETENTE, AND DIVERT ATTENTION OF WESTERN PUBLIC OPINION FROM CAPITALIST PROBLEMS.

4. WHY DO NOT ALL WESTERN COUNTRIES RATIFY UN HUMAN RIGHTS CONVENTIONS? WEST REFUSES TO COOPERATE ON BASKET TWO AND TO CEASE ECONOMIC DISCRIMINATION AGAINST EAST. EVEN ON BASKET THREE, MANY WESTERN COUNTRIES ARE SURPRISINGLY SILENT CLAIMING THAT THEIR SPHERE OF AUTHORITY IS MORE LIMITED THAN IT ACTUALLY IS. HUNGARY HAS MADE ALLOWANCES FOR FACT PRIVATE CAPITAL PREVAILS IN WESTERN CULTURE AND SOCIETY BUT WESTERN GOVERNMENTS COULD DO MORE IN NAGY'S OPINION.

5. NO ONE IN COUNTRY SEEKS TO DENY HUNGARIAN PUBLIC
OPINION ACCESS TO AND INFORMATION ABOUT THE OUTSIDE
WORLD BUT GOH WILL NOT PERMIT VIEWS TO GET IN ITS
INFORMATION SYSTEM WHICH ARE PREJUDICIAL TO FUNDAMENTAL
INTERESTS OF HUNGARIAN SOCIETY, STIR UP COLD WAR ATMOS-
PHERE OR APPEAR TO STILL LATENT BASE INSTINCTS OF
PEOPLE. "NO OFFICIAL STATEMENT
HAS BEEN MADE IN HUNGARIAN PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OR IN OTHER
SOCIALIST COUNTRIES CLAIMING THAT WE HAVE EXHAUSTED FULLY
POSSIBILITIES OF UNILATERAL IMPLEMENTATION OF FINAL
DOCUMENT,"NAGY WRITES. BUT GOH IS AGAINST TURNING
BELGRADE MEETING INTO "GRIEVANCE DAY." IN HUNGARIAN
VIEW, COUNTRIES HAVE NO MANDATE TO REVISE FINAL DOCUMENT
AT BELGRADE. MEETING THRE WILL BE CONSULTATIVE AND
INTERIM STAGE ON ROAD TO IMPLEMENTATION OF FINAL ACT.
"IF EACH PARTICIPATING COUNTRY ADOPS JUST A FEW NEW
IDEAS AND CONCEPTS FROM THE OTHERS, PROGRESS HAS ALREADY
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BEEN MADE." NAGY DOES NOT BELIEVE GOOD ATMOSPHERE AT
BELGRADE IS YET ASSURED. HE STATES "IF WE ARE ATTACKED
AND SLANDERED WE SHALL HAVE PLENTY TO SAY IN REPLY."
"BUT WHO WOULD PROFIT? ONLY THE ADVERSARIES OF DETENTE."

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 IO-13 ISO-00 DHA-02 ERDA-05 CIAE-00 H-01
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PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 TRSE-00 DODE-00 NSC-05
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E.O. 11652: N/A

6. CMB'S HAVE THEIR PLACE IN FINAL DOCUMENT BUT THERE HAS NOT YET BEEN EXPERIENCE ENOUGH TO CHANGE THEM. ONE SHOULD NOT SPECULATE ON EXPANDING FINAL DOCUMENT, NAGY SAYS; NOW IS THE TIME FOR IMPLEMENTATION. IN FINAL ANALYSIS, HE CONTINUES, BELGRADE CANNOT ATTEMPT TO ASSUME ROLE OF ALREADY EXISTING DISARMAMENT FORUMS. IT IS NOT A LACK OF SUITABLE FORUMS THAT CAUSES SLOW PROGRESS IN FIELD OF DISARMAMENT BUT REALITIES. NAGY CONCLUDES BY TRUSTING THAT SOBER AND JUDICIOUS POSITION WILL PREVAIL AND THAT LONG-TERM INTEREST IN STABILIZATION OF DETENTE WILL IN THE END SET TONE OF BELGRADE MEETING.
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7. COMMENT: NAGY ARTICLE IS INTERESTING AMALGAM OF HUNGARIAN AND SOVIET VIEWS. FOR EXAMPLE REMARK THAT IF EACH COUNTRY ACCEPTS A FEW NEW IDEAS PROGRESS WILL BE MADE SOUNDS PARTICULARLY HUNGARIAN AND RECALLS GOM'S BILATERAL PROPOSALS TO WESTERN STATES IN CSCE IMPLEMENTATION CONTEXT. ON OTHER HAND, NAGY'S REFERENCE TO WISHFUL THINKING ABOUT ENCOURAGING OPPOSITION ELEMENTS COMES STRAIGHT OUT OF SOVIET PHRASE BOOK. NAGY KNOWS BETTER.

8. HUNGARIANS APPEAR READY TO GO EITHER WAY AT BELGRADE DEPENDING UPON COURSE OF US-SOVIET RELATIONS AND MANNER IN WHICH US AND ITS ALLIES PROCEED WITH HUMAN RIGHTS MATTERS. THEY CLEARLY WISH TO BLAME WEST IF BELGRADE SHOULD NOT SUCCEED AND ARE DETERMINED TO MAINTAIN AN OFFENSIVE POSTURE PUBLICLY ALTHOUGH THEY PRIVATELY WORRIED ABOUT PROSPECTS FOR CSCE AND DETENTE.

9. COPY OF TRANSLATION POUCHED TO DEPARTMENT FOR EUR/RPM.
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Message Attributes

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Disposition Case Number: n/a
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Disposition Date: 22 May 2009
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